*The Political Union.*

A

# DISCOURSE

Shewing the Dependance of

## Government on Religion

In General: And of

## The *Engliſh Monarchy*

ON

## The *Church of ENGLAND*

In Particular.

By HENRY SACHEVERELL, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen* College, *Oxon.*

*OXFORD:*

Printed by *Leonard Lichfield*, for *George Weſt*, and *Henry Clements*, 1702.

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# The Church of ENGLAND

In Particular.

By HENRY SACHEVERELL, M.A. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxon.

OXFORD:

TO

# George Sacheverell, *Esquire*,

OF

## *New-Hall, in Warwick-shire.*

Honour'd SIR,

*THE Many Favours I have Received from You, in the Course of a long Friendship, and the Relation I have the Honour to Bear to Your Family, Encourage Me to Prefix Your Name to These Papers, which were Design'd to Recommend the Practice of* That Religion, *and the Protection of* That Church, *whereof You stand so Shining an* Example *in Your Station, and so Eminent a* Member *in Your Character. As 'tis Her Peculiar Glory to Transcend All Others, in the Purity of Her Doctrine, and the Decency of Her Discipline and Worship, so You Appear no Less Distinguish'd amongst Her* True Sons, *for Your Steady and Unshaken Adherence to the First, as well as Your Strict and Regular Conformity to the Latter.*

*Did*

*Did* [illegible] *those that Pretend to Wear the Same* [illegible] *Title, give such Stanch and Undeniable* [illegible] *rations of the Real Truth, and Sincerity of their Professions, there wou'd be Little Need of Discourses of This Nature, either from the* Pulpit, *or the* Press. *Much less wou'd the Uneasy Force be put on any Man, to make an Appeal to the One, to Vindicate the Performances of the Other. But it cannot be Expected, that a Doctrine that Carries the* Interest *and* Power *of the* Church *so* High, *shou'd Receive any Fair Quarter, much less Countenance or Favour, from those Treacherous* False-Friends, *who endeavour to Degrade, and Sink it so* Low. *Whose Pernicious Designs are Here Laid Open and Unmask'd, and Their Fatal Tendency to Our* Civil, *as well as* Ecclesiastical *Government and Constitution Expos'd. Both which must Unavoidably Fall under the Greatest Danger, whenever Their Interests come to be Divided, or the One Undermin'd through the Foundations of the Other. Than which, I Presume, there cannot be a Stronger Argument, for the Defence of Our Religion, as well as a* Political Union *and Inviolable Friendship.*

SIR, *Wou'd Your Modesty (the only Quality We can find Fault with in You) permit You to shew Your self as Ready as You are Capacitated,*

*citated, to Draw Your Pen on This, or any Other Subject in the Vindication of* the Church, *the* Author *wou'd not Want the Protection of a* Patron, *and Your Endeavours wou'd as Effectually Secure Her Reputation, as Your Own. The* Univerſity *may Juſtly make this Complaint of One of Her Sons, on whom She has ſo Liberally beſtow'd Her Portion and Bleſſing; being Here as Great an Ornament to Her Learning, as You are now Abſent, a Support to Her Character. Had Thoſe Gentlemen, who ſo Ungratefully Traduce it, as the Undeſerv'd Subject of their Railery and Envy, made that Juſt Uſe of Their Education here, as You did, She need not Bluſh to Own, that they were once Her Members; and We ſhould have as* Little *Reaſon to Fear a Reproach from Them, either on Our Learning, or Morality, as We have Much to Boaſt of Both, in That Bright Example You give the World to the Contrary.*

*We might Repine, that All Theſe Noble Endowments are Confin'd to the Solitude of a* Retir'd Life, *which are ſo Fit to Appear on the* Publick Scene *of Action, did You not Effectually Anſwer this Objection, by That Diffuſive Good and Charity You ſo Plentifully Beſtow upon Your Country, Who Rejoyce to ſee the* Church-man *and the* Patriot, *the* Gentle-

man

man *and the* Scholar, *so well Temper'd and Mixt, that they Enjoy,* Learning *without* Pedantry, Religion *without* Hypocrisy, *and* Honour *without* Interest, *or* Ostentation. *Who have always carried the* Ballance *of Your Fortune so Even, that You have Shewn Your Self,* Active *without* Heat, Temperate *without* Phlegm, Steady *without* Faction, Rich *without* Covetousness, *and* Generous *without* Vanity.

*To Tell the World My Obligations to a Person of* Such a Character, *I think no Small Honour done to My Own. And Who is One of the most Visible and Lively Proofs I cou'd have Alledg'd of the Truth here Asserted, of the Ornament and Power that* Government *Receives from* Religion. *And that You may Long Continue to be so, for the Welfare and Prosperity of Both, is what I am, as much in Duty, as Interest, Bound to Wish, who am, with All Zeal and Integrity,*

Your most Faithful and Affectionate

Friend, and Humble Servant,

Henry Sacheverell.

# Proverbs VIII. 15.

## *By Me Kings Reign, and Princes Decree Juſtice.*

THeſe are the Words of a King, and of One of whom no Leſs than GOD has given Us this Honourable Character, That He excel'd the whole World, both before and after Him, in the Two diſtinguiſhing and peculiar Gifts of Heaven, *Wiſdom* and *Power*. Now from ſuch a Prince, whom Omniſcience has aſſur'd Us to have been as well the *Wiſeſt*, as *Greateſt* of Mankind, We may well expect to learn the true and infallible Oracles of Reaſon, and to know the exacteſt Rules and Meaſures of *Policy*: who, from His Own long Experience, had found on what Foundations Government ought to be laid for its Security, and wherein conſiſted its main Strength and Support.

But [illegible]eas from this *Royal Politician*, who [illegible]s than GOD himſelf for His *Privy-Co[illegible]*; and who had fram'd the Model of his Empire upon Principles, that were deduced from nothing lower than Divine Inſpiration, We might have expected to have heard of ſome wonderful *Plan*, or Artificial *Scheme* of Government, ſurpaſſing all the refin'd Wit, and ſubtle Contrivance of an Earthly *Machiavel*: when We might have hoped to have ſeen all his Secrets of Empire, the abſtruſe and hidden Speculations of that dark and myſterious Science reveal'd: by what Stratagems and Counſels Kingdoms are rais'd and defended, States and Republicks ſupported, and the Crown and Sceptre maintain'd, to ſatisfy Us, that GOD's Policy is not as Our Policy, *His Ways as our Ways, His Thoughts as Our Thoughts*, We have here the whole *Art of Government*, the entire *Theory*, as well as *Practice* of *Politicks*, reduced and crowded into the narrow Compaſs of One ſingle *Maxim*. A Maxim which, tho' conſiſting of ſo very few Words, will be found to carry more real Truth, and to bear the

the ſeverer Teſt and Judgment, both of Reaſon and Experience, than all the niceſt Subtleties of the deepeſt Politicians.

Now, that we may know what is the true Sence of this *Aphoriſm*, it is requiſite to look back to the Beginning of this Chapter: Where We ſhall find, that the Holy Spirit of GOD is ſetting out the Great Advantages and Benefits that attend true Piety and Religion: which He has been pleas'd to *Dignify* with the Honourable Title of *Wiſdom*, as, in other Places, He has *Degraded* Sin with the vile Character of *Folly*, how little ſoever the mad World may believe they deſerve ſuch contrary Names, and diſtinguiſhing Appellations. But as their reſpective Claims to both will be eaſily made to appear juſt in all other Inſtances, ſo that of Religion, more particularly, in its Effects here aſcrib'd to it by GOD in the Text, as being the greateſt Guard and Support, in Nature, of Human Government and Society, together with thoſe Laws whereon they are eſtabliſh'd. This was a Doctrine, for the Truth and undeniable Evidence whereof, We need only appeal to the

Life of this *Great* and *Wiſe* Prince, which the Care of Religion, and the Promotion of GOD's Service, had lengthen'd out to a long and proſperous Reign. He ſaw his Kingdom riſing with the Walls of the Temple, and His *Own* advanc'd together with *GOD*'s Glory. He knew that the *Royal Palace* and the *Divine Altar* were protected by the ſame Power and Providence, and that the *Throne* and the *Church* ſtood upon the ſame Bottom. That the Welfare and Deſtruction of both were bound up together, that They were ſubſiſted by the ſame Common Principles, that what ſtruck the *One*, in the like manner, affected the *Other*, and that when the Pinnacles of the Temple totter'd, the Crown was found very ſeldom to ſit unſhaken on the Prince's Head. The ſureſt Method to make a State powerful and flouriſhing was to make it *Good*, which never fail'd to make it *Great*, Proſperity being the *Natural* Effect of Religion, which will be found to be the trueſt Policy a Prince can follow, to ſecure and eſtabliſh His Government on a firm and immoveable Foundation.

*By*

*By Me* (that is by Religion) *Kings Reign, and Princes Decree Juſtice.*

I might here illuſtrate this great Truth by ſeveral Arguments, drawn Firſt, from the Ends both of Religion and Government; or Secondly, from the conſtant Methods of GOD's Providence in deſtroying One, by taking away the Other; or Thirdly, from the Natural Laws of Juſtice and Equity. But I ſhall chuſe rather to interweave theſe Topicks into the Body of this Diſcourſe, confining it to the bare Sence of the Words, as containing this Propoſition, namely, *That Religion is the Grand Support of Government, that the Peace, Happineſs and Proſperity of the Secular and Civil Power, depends upon that of the Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical.*

Which howſoever like a *Paradox* ſome Men may repreſent it, and as only the *Popular Cant* of Thoſe who would enlarge the *Church Power*, yet I hope to make it appear ſo far from being an Artificial Fetch and Uſurpation in the Clergy, as to prove it to ſtand confirm'd, with the higheſt Evidence and Demon-

II. Secondly, I will enquire into the Nature of the Things themſelves, and trace out the true Grounds of both, ſo as to account for the Reaſons upon which They are eſtabliſh'd.

Here are both *Argument* and *Matter of Fact*, conſpiring to illuſtrate This great Truth, and where They appear to concur, We may well expect to find Demonſtration in its exacteſt Diſcoveries.

Now that *Religion* and *Government*, the *Church* and *State*, have this mutual Dependance and reciprocal Fortune, will be found a Truth, as certain and infallible, as 'tis falſly repreſented on the contrary, by Thoſe Men who would ſeparate Their Intereſts, and if 'twere in Their Power, would lop the One, as a ſuperfluous, unneceſſary and *encroaching* Branch, from the Other. I ſay *encroaching*, only becauſe They have rais'd large Eſtates out of its Ruines, and Riot in the ill-gotten Spoils of its Treaſure, and think to juſtify their own falſe Titles, by denying and over-bearing the Right of the

True,

True, and as 'twere to Conſecrate and Legitimate Sacriledge with Power [illegible]urpation. But let ſuch Perſons a lit[illegible]t upon *Ahab*'s Policy, who could not be Content with the *Vineyard*, without Murdering the *Rightful Owner*; and as They like His Succeſs, let 'em practice the ſame Villainous Methods.

The *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical* State are the Two Parts and Diviſions, that Both United make up One entire compounded Conſtitution, and Body Politick, ſharing the ſame Fate and Circumſtances, Twiſted and Interwoven into the very Being and Principles of each Other, Both alike jointly Aſſiſting and being Aſſiſted, Defending and Defended, Supporting and Supported, in the ſame Vital Union, Intercourſe and Complication. Tho' We may rather look upon *the Church* as the *Soul*, that Animates this Body, maintaining Force, Life, and Power in it at preſent, and capable of Surviving it in its Extent and Duration hereafter; when all Civil Polity and Government ſhall *ceaſe and be done away*, the Conſtitution of This only ſhall Alter, and the *Church*

*Militant* ſhall be made for ever *Triumphant* in Heav[illegible]hey are however, at preſent, Caſt un[illegible]me Lot and Condition, and, like the *Philoſopher's Twins*, Communicate their Mirth or Sorrow, equally Suffer or Rejoyce, are repreſented in Smiles or Tears, in Health or Sickneſs, as the ſame Gracious, or Afflicting Providence pleaſes to affect their State. One cannot Flouriſh whilſt the Other is in Diſtreſs, nor This be in Peace and Tranquillity, whilſt That is engag'd in Wars and Troubles. A *Ruin'd Church* and *Proſperous Government* are Irreconcileable Contradictions in Experience, Confronted and Confuted by the united, Univerſal, and Concurrent Teſtimony of all Ages, and Hiſtories, Sacred and Prophane. Which Unanimouſly give in This, as their General *Verdict* and Eternal Truth, that the ſureſt and moſt infallible Means to Srengthen, Support, and Eſtabliſh the Civil Power, is by Maintaining and Defending the True Worſhip of GOD, and the Exerciſe of His Genuine and Unmixt Religion, and the moſt ready, effectual, and never-failing Way to Deſtroy it, is by Ruining and Deſtroying That.

That. The whole *Jewiſh* Hiſtory is but One Evident Illuſtration, and as I may ſay, Diverſify'd Example of this Grand Aſſertion. And that not only under the Times of their *Theocracy*, when GOD himſelf was both Governour and Law-Giver in Church and State, but when They were under a *Republican*, as well as *Regal* Conſtitution. For this End, We read how often GOD cut their Kings and Governours ſhort in their Lives and Reigns, and brought ſuch Troubles and diſaſtrous Calamities upon that whole Nation, as made Them Miſerable and Scandalous to a Proverb. And this is ſufficiently evident from the frequent Bondage and Captivity They were ſent into Abroad, the dangerous and bloody Wars They were engag'd in with their Enemies, and the many ſad Diviſions and Inteſtine Broils They were haraſs'd with among Themſelves. And this is ſo much more Peculiarly to be remark'd of this People, becauſe They were the only Nation to whom GOD had Reveal'd Himſelf, and wherein He had eſtabliſh'd a Form of Worſhip and Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration till the Days of our Bleſſed Saviour.

In all the many Revolutions, of that Kingdom, nothing is more Viſible than the Fall of the *Secular* Power, conſtantly Fore-run and Portended in that of the *Church*, which They Themſelves always eſteem'd, not only as the Sign and Token of it, but as the very Natural Cauſe and Original Ground from whence 'twas inferr'd and deduc'd. They were wiſe enough to Aſcribe that Variety of Turns and Changes to the Divine Diſpenſation, as an Inflict̃ion and juſt Puniſhment for Their Diſorders in Religion and Abuſes in their Worſhip: of which 'twas impoſſible They ſhould have been ignorant, being ſo oftentimes Threatned and Inculcated in their Law, and as 'twere the very Repetition, Application, and *Burden* of their Prophetical Writings. Theſe were the Reſults of the *Jewiſh* Opinions, concerning the Dependance of the *Secular* Power on the *Eccleſiaſtical*, which would be Tedious throughly to examin in all its Particulars, and which, in One Inſtance, to mention no more, appears ſo ſtrongly Remarkable, that there's need of few other Arguments to ſhew it, I mean the Con-

Conjunction of both Powers in the Same Perſon, which generally belong'd to the Firſt-Born of the Family, as the Right of Primogeniture, and this is ſo much more Obſervable, in that it was the Reflection of meer Natural Reaſon, and a Settl'd Practice before GOD had given any Law, or Revelation of Himſelf to Mankind, and has ſince been Continued through many Ages and Nations, Gentile and Chriſtian, in the World.

Now had We leiſure to trace through the *Annals* of the Church, from the Firſt Eſtabliſhment of it by Our Saviour, down to Our own Times, and to take a Survey of it, in All its Different *Stages* and Circumſtances, view it in its Riſe and Infancy, Strugling with all the Difficulties and Hardſhips of Poverty and Perſecution, but yet in Spight of its Enemies Cruelty, ſtill Springing Freſh out of its Ruines, Spreading wider, and taking Root deeper, as it was conſtantly Drench'd and Impregnated with its own Fruitful Blood, till It had rais'd its Head above the weak Malice and impotent Oppoſition of its Adverſaries: I ſay if We purſue the Foot-

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ſteps of the Divine Providence, through all this Maze and Myſterious Labyrinth of Mercy, We ſhall find an Unaccountable Bleſſing always attending the Places where it was Planted and Flouriſh'd, and the Kingdoms that *Rejected*, and endeavour'd to *Pull down this Corner-Stone* of our Saviour, ſo Fatally Puniſh'd in the *Fall*, that it *Grown'd them to Powder*. The glorious Empire of *Conſtantine the Great* was as Illuſtrious an Example of the *One*, as the Strange and ſignally Notorious Deaths of *the Perſecutors* were Miraculous Demonſtrations of the Divine Juſtice in the *Other*. When GOD had ſuffer'd That Deluge of the *Goths* and *Vandals* to come Pouring down into *Europe*, which Swept away the very Appearance of the Church, the Seat of the *Roman* Government Paid diſmally for its Perſecution. All its Glory and Wealth, its Power and Learning were Over-run and Sunk in Ignorance, Poverty, and Barbarity: a dreadful Darkneſs cover'd the World for many Ages, and nothing but Popery and Superſtition, meer *Egyptian* Midnight Overſpread it. Till GOD

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was pleas'd *to ſend His Day-ſpring from on high, to viſit Us that ſat in Darkneſs and in the Shadow of Death, and to guide our Feet into the Way of Peace.* What an happy Change and Revolution was this? What can We think of the greateſt Conqueſts imaginable, carry'd on, and accompliſh'd by Vice and Error, by Fury and Violence? Are ſuch Governments worth the Wiſh of wiſe or good Men, or do They indeed deſerve the Name and Character of Government? Certainly Murder, Rapine and Hoſtility were the Beſt Titles they could claim. In what a diſmal Confuſion was all this Part of the World at that Time? Nothing but Idolatry and Rudeneſs in the Temple of GOD, the very Face of Religion and Letters deſtroy'd, Their Preſervatives burnt and demoliſh'd, Their Profeſſours baniſh'd and maſſacred, all Laws, Sacred and Civil, aboliſh'd and annul'd, all was Brutal Strength and Savage Force, no Juſtice but in the Sword, no Right or Reaſon but in Power or Poſſeſſion, and, in a Word, One continued Deſolation, and as 'twere *Triumphant* Ruin Reign'd in Church and State,

State, *Atheiſm* in the One, and *Anarchy* in in the Other. But then, by the good Providence of GOD, that in its due time *Awoke* out of this *Slumber*, to the Vindication of His Doctrine and Worſhip, the Dawn of Learning, after this long Night, Sprung forth in the Weſt, and made way for the Light of the Goſpel, and *the Sun of Righteouſneſs to ariſe with Healing in His Wings.* Then the *Monkiſh* Ignorance began to vaniſh, the dark Errors and the vile Deluſions of Popery put on their proper Colours, Reformation was Propagated apace, both in Church and State, Religion was purg'd from its Barbarous Corruptions, and Heatheniſh Depravations, and Government was brought out of its *Chaos*, and Moulded into a Regular Form and Conſtitution, by wholſome Laws, Diſcipline, and Juſtice. It is very eaſy to purſue this Point downwards, through all the Civil Diviſions, that have Infeſted Our own Church and Nation, but I ſhall forbear the ungrateful Reflection, and ſhall only leave this Remark, 'That *Monarchy* and *Epiſcopacy*, the *Crown* 'and the *Mitre* have been always ſo mutually

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'depending upon a Recipr[illegible]ion and 'Support, that the Fall of [illegible]drew af-'ter it the Other, and the Government of 'the State was never known to Survive That 'of the Church.

Thus Atheiſm and Anarchy have always went hand in hand, They are the Mutual Spawn and Genuine Production of each Other, and like Vermin are Bred out of the ſame Filth and Corruption. So evidently does it appear from the conſtant Event of it in all its Ages and different Periods, that where the Principles of Religion come once to be Shaken, or ever happen to be Subverted, the State never fails to follow it, and to take Share in its Misfortunes and Ruines. But this will ſtill appear with a much ſtronger Conviction, if

II. Secondly, We come to conſider theſe Things in Their *Natural* Cauſes, and to Trace out the true Grounds of Both, ſo as to Account for the Reaſons of theſe Operations.

Now if we try to Reſolve them into Their Firſt Principles, We ſhall find it is impoſſible

They ſh otherwiſe. For can we think that the ions, that Deſtroy the Being of Providence, and Fly in the Face of God, and Affront and Deny his Authority and Government ſhould Deal better with His Vice-Gerents? That They ſhould pay Obedience to Mortality, who Set at nought their Creator? When once Religion grows Mean and Contemptible in the Eye of the People, it is not eaſy to keep Them from having the like Opinion of Their Government, whoſe Obedience is laid down by Its Precepts; ſo that if They prove Sawcy and Familiar with the One, They ſeldom ſhew more Reſpect to the Other, and where once they Forfeit Their Conſcience, Their Allegiance is ſeldom found to keep its Ground. The Man that has made Himſelf, as the Atheiſt does, His *Own God*, on the ſame Reaſon will be His *Own King* too, if it lies in his Power.

All the Force of Government is deriv'd from, and depending upon the Paſſions of *Shame* and *Fear*, and as the *Firſt* is Rul'd by Conſcience, the *Latter* is Guided by the Laws of it. Had Men no other Reſtraints upon Their Spirits, but

but the Bare Rewards and Puniſhments of this Life, We ſhould find to Our Sorrow They would have little Force to keep the World in Awe and Terror. We muſt propound other Principles of Government and Obedience, or elſe *Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity*, Laws and Statutes, would carry very weak Obligations in Them. Did Men look no farther than the Grave, there would ſcarce a Villain be found, that had not Courage enough to Deſpiſe the Gallows, and to Laugh at his Executioner. A little Reſolution can quickly ſet a Bold and Undaunted Temper above the petty Fears of Death, the Pains and Terrors whereof lie not in the *Actual* Suffering it, but in its *Conſequences*: not in a Short, Momentary and Tranſient Torment that attends it, but in that Eternal and Unſpeakable Puniſhment, and State that follows after it. Theſe Notions can be Founded upon, and Deduc'd from Nothing but *the Immortality of the Soul*, a Principle which Reaſon and Philoſophy does but Dubiouſly Conjecture at, and Religion only Proves, *which has brought Life and Immortality to Light through*

*Goſpel.* This is the Grand Wheel upon which all Human Actions Turn and Move, and take That away and the moſt Profligate and Vitious Dictates of Corrupted Nature ſhall take place, and paſs into Laws: Honour and Honeſty ſhall be meer Fancies and Idea's, and there ſhall be no Rule to meaſure Juſtice and Vertue by, but the Models of Pleaſure, Convenience and Profit. Strip Mankind of that Troubleſome Thing call'd *Conſcience*, which is always ready to caſt a Check and Damp upon Their Evil Actions, with the Affrighting Repreſentations of Hell and a Future Judgment, and We ſhall quickly find what an Ungovernable, Headſtrong, Brutal Force, Human Nature and Paſſion carries in it. Was Man let alone to his Own Swinge and Controul, Unbridl'd by his Reaſon, Deſerted by the Divine Grace, and given up to the Dominion of his Luſts and Inclinations, He would be *Worſe even than the Beaſts that periſh.* Now Human Laws Fetter only the *External* Part of Him, They Command but *Half the Man:* they keep Him from Striking out into Open Violence and *Actual* Oppreſſion, but They go

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no farther; the more Conſiderable part ſtill remains Behind, out of their Reach and Obligation, and ſo much the more to be Fear'd, in that it gives the very Life, Birth, and Spring to all Action: ſo That unleſs that be kept under due Government and Regulation, it is almoſt impoſſible that His Actions ſhould be Vertuous, any more than that an Evil Cauſe ſhould produce a Good Effect. Now there are no Laws or *Statutes* againſt *Thoughts*, but Thoſe alone which GOD has Enacted: and laying Thoſe aſide, tho' a Man comes up to the Strickteſt Rigour and Obedience to any Human Commands, tho' He appears an *Angel* Without, He may nevertheleſs be a *Devil* Within. Was there no Reſtraint laid upon the Inward State of the Soul, nothing that could Awe and Controul the ſecret Machinations, and inviſible Deſigns of Malice and Revenge, of Luſt and Anger, of Covetouſneſs and Deſire, and the Like, All the Arts and Policies of *State Government* in the World, could not in the leaſt be Able to Preſerve Mankind in Safety and Security from One another's Evil Intentions. And were

We

We always to ſtand upon the Guard, with a Drawn Sword in Ones Hand, Suſpect every Perſon that We meet or Deal with, which We muſt do, unleſs We can Truſt to their Fidelity, Life would be an Inſupportable Burden and Fatigue. And what Reaſon ſhould I have to Rely upon any One, whoſe Juſtice, Veracity and Integrity I was not aſſur'd of? And how can I be aſſur'd of That? Where there is no Conſcience, there can be no Truſt, that is Certain. So that if Men would commit the moſt Horrid Villanies in Nature, if there was no Fear of Diſcovery, taking away Religion, there lies no Obligation in the World to Prevent them from Doing it: And ſuppoſe any Gain or Advantage to be obtain'd, a Powerful Perſuaſion to Act them.

Thus We ſee how Weak, Impotent, and Unguarded Human Nature, and Human Government are Left, if Stript of that Support, Ornament and Defence that they receive from Religion. Nature, by it ſelf, is a meer State of Anarchy and Confuſion, of Ruine, Rapine and War; and tho' it be Regulated, Reſtrain'd, and Tyed up by *Political Laws*, yet

yet Theſe Reach not to the *Intellectual* Part, the moſt Dangerous, Active, Buſy, and Deſtructive part of Man. Theſe take Cognizance only of *Evil in Act*, when it is Brought forth and Produc'd: it muſt be Religion alone that can Stifle it in the Birth, and Deſtroy the Seeds and Original Cauſes of Impiety and Injuſtice. They may perhaps do the Office of *Bedlam*, keep a Man in Chains that is Mad, but This Alone muſt be the *Phyſick* to Curb, Correct, and Purge out the foul Diſtempers and Diſorderly Paſſions of the Mind, and make Him fit to be Let looſe, and to Walk up and down, and Converſe without Danger.

In a word, to Sum up the Force and Evidence of this Argument. All Government is founded upon Society, as the very Object of its Operation, Society upon Laws and Truſts, as the Means and Rules of Intercourſe and Traffick, and the Bounds of Property, and even thoſe Laws of no Force or Obligation without it, and to conclude, This Conſcience is Govern'd, Directed and Controul'd by Nothing but the Fears and Promiſes

miſes of Another Life, the Precepts and Inſurances of a Reveal'd Religion.

Now tho' this Matter I preſume is ſufficiently Clear and Convincing, yet I ſhall carry the Argument much farther, and proceed Next to Prove, from the *Nature* and *Conſtitution* of *Government*, that it is Impoſſible for it to ſubſiſt upon any other Bottom than That of *Religion*. And tho' this may look ſo much like a *Romance* in Policy, yet it will be found, upon the ſevereſt Tryal of *Reaſon*, as well as *Experience*, to be a Real Truth, and not an Imaginary *Scheme* of Fancy.

The Four Grand Pillars upon which All *Government* is Rais'd and Supported, are *Juſtice*, *Counſel*, *Treaſure*, and *Religion*. But doubtleſs the Main Column that keeps up This Fabrick, and preſerves it both from Shaking and Falling, is *Religion*. The Others are only Under-props, This is the Great Baſis and Ground-work of All, that adminiſters Strength, Force and Beauty to the Edifice, and taking That away, the Foundation being gone, the Building muſt Sink and Totter. For,

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1. Firſt, *Juſtice* can never S[illegible] without it, and this is more Expreſly [illegible]ated in the very words of the Text, *By Me Princes Decree Juſtice.* But I ſhall not inſiſt on this Bare Authority, but Evince the Truth of it by Argument.

All Human Laws, I have already ſhewn, have very Little Force and Obligation in Themſelves, and conſider'd in their utmoſt Extent, Govern but *Half the Man:* They may Puniſh a Crime, when Committed, but Propoſe very Weak Reſtraints to Prevent it. But that which makes this Matter ſtill more Evident in the Proof is, that Theſe very Laws are Impoſſible to be put in Execution, without an Immediate Appeal to, and Uſe of Religion, both with Regard to the *Penal,* as well as the *Judicial* Parts of them.

And Firſt, as for the *Penal,* there can be no Conviction, but either by *Self-Confeſſion,* or *Teſtimonial Evidence.* As for *Self-Confeſſion,* that is, without all Diſpute, the very Product of Religious Fear and Conſcience of Guilt. For doubtleſs no Man would be ſo Stupid as to Confeſs his Crimes, when they

cc[illegible]'early Prov'd againſt Him, and Freely [illegible] away His Life, when He Believ'd no *Other* after it. No Malefactour would Confeſs, with the Dread of an Immediate Execution attending Him, unleſs 'twere to Prevent the Greater Dread of a Future Damnation. For Confeſſion is a ſort of *Vindictive Juſtice* on a Man's ſelf, and as 'twere a ſmall Reparation to the World, for the Scandal and Offence, for the Oppreſſion and Injury of Vice, and did any Man Dye an Atheiſt, He would never be Guilty of it. But 'tis the Fear of a Judgment in the Next World, not of Any in This, that Extorts a Self-Condemnation from Criminals, in ſpight of the powerful Perſuaſions of their Lives and Fortunes, their Families and Reputations. So that take away Conſcience that is Founded on Religion, and You Deprive the World of one of the Strongeſt Evidences Againſt, and Convictions of Malefactours in Nature.

2. Secondly, As to *Teſtimonial* Evidence, that We know can never be Credited, but by the Oaths of the Witneſſes: and an Oath is one of the Higheſt and moſt Solemn Acts of

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Religion, it is an Immediate Appeal to GOD and his Power for the Veracity of the Teſtatour, and Truth of the Teſtimony, and is the Cuſtomary Proof of All Nations in the World, that Believe the Being of a GOD. Now there is no Fence or Guard againſt a *Point-blank* Oath, eſpecially if the Matter of it is Circumſtantiated well, Coherent and Self-conſiſtent. So that if We Suppoſe Men without a juſt Fear of GOD upon their Conſciences, without a Due Senſe and Awful Regard of their Oaths, if We ſuppoſe 'em under no Apprehenſions and Dread of the Danger and Damnable Guilt of Perjury, We may then ſuppoſe 'em to Swear any thing. And what a Diſmal Condition muſt the World be then brought into, when the Laws that were made for Our Preſervation and Defence, would be the direct Inſtruments of Our Ruine and Deſtruction, and any Man could not be ſafe a Minute in Poſſeſſion, either of his Life, Liberty or Eſtate! Theſe are the Fatal Conſequences of Baniſhing Religion out of Government, which is the High-Road to Ruine and Anarchy, and the moſt Effectual way to

Baniſh all Government out of the World. It would Fill Our Streets with Blood-ſhed and Murder, Deſtroy all Honeſt and Good Men, and leave nothing in the World but what was Fit to be Deſtroy'd. This is plain as to the *Penal* Execution and Power of the Law, and will be found alſo to Hold good in all the *Judicial* Parts of it. It do's not onely Reach the *Witneſſes* in any Caſe, but the *Jury*, *Lawyers*, nay and *Judge* Himſelf, who if We Abſtract Their Religion, from Their Power, wou'd for Intereſt or Favour, for Bribery or Partiality, for Prejudice or Advantage any ways give up a Cauſe as they pleas'd, and Pronounce Guilty or not Guilty, not by Evidence but Profit, They wou'd Save or Condemn, not by Conviction but Money, They wou'd Meaſure The Law by Their Gains, and make *Juſtice Blind* with a Witneſs. Thus Evidently does it Appear that Take away Religion, and Juſtice goes along with it, and that It has it's very Being, Support and Eſtabliſhment from it.

To which I ſhall Add this ſhort Obſervation, That Our *Courts of Common Law* in ſome Caſes

Caſes, Managing with too much Rigour, for the Determination of Several Points, according to the *Letter of the Statute*, our Conſtitution and Government have erected *Courts of Equity*, wherein Matters are to be Decided by a Reaſonable Conſideration, and a Religious Procedure, in which oftentimes Some of the Judges are Perſons Inveſted with an Eccleſiaſtical Dignity and Character, Judging according to the Meaſure of Reaſon, Conſcience and Religion, and Relaxing that Extremity of Juſtice which in ſome Reſpects may be no otherwiſe than a *Legal Injury*. Not to mention the Buſineſs of *Civil Courts* wherein Religion has the Supream and Alone Judicature. This I hope is a Short and Clear Proof of the Inſufficiency of Juſtice, as it ſtands Abſtracted from Religion.

2. Secondly, *Counſel* has no Leſs Dependance upon it. Under Counſel are Comprehended All the various Arts and Methods of *Policy* and Schemes of Government, the Stratagems, Advices, and Deſigns, and in a Word all the Myſterious Wiſdom and Subtlety of *State-Craft*, which Thoſe that Sit

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at the Helm make Uſe of to Turn about the World and to Steer its Courſe. Now if GOD's Providence is Concern'd in Matters here Below, as Our Saviour aſſures Us, that *not an Hair of Our Head falls without His Knowledge*, implying that the Leaſt, and moſt Inconſiderable Affairs are not Plac'd out of His Care and Superintendence: I ſay if We Acknowledge this Firſt Principle of Natural Truth, which nothing but downright Atheiſm can Exclude, We muſt then Confeſs that it is Concern'd in a much Greater Degree according to the Different Quality and Proportion of Events. Where the Deſtruction of a State, the Revolution of a Kingdom, the Diſpoſal of an Empire, the Safety of a Church lye at Stake, in ſuch Grand and Momentous Occurrences and Tranſactions, We may Viſibly as 'twere See GOD *Deſcending* from Heaven, and Interpoſing with the Right-Hand of His Power. In Theſe Caſes how oftentimes are *Second Cauſes* ſet aſide, how is Policy Baffled and Defeated, how does a Secret, Unaccountable and Irreſiſtible Influence Countermand the Deepeſt and beſt-laid Projects

jects, and Invalidate the moſt Probable and Rational Counſels, and Smite the moſt Refin'd and accurate Deſigns with a Curſe and Diſappointment! Tho' God has laid All Things in a Train and Series of Natural Cauſes, yet He has Reſerved to Himſelf the Liberty to Interpoſe and Break the *Concatenation*, to Croſs upon the Road and Courſe of Human Affairs, to Awaken the World to a juſt Senſe and Conſideration of it's Governour, to teach Mankind to Depend on His Will, and to Aſcribe All Events to His Wiſe Diſpoſal. And We may be ſure God will not Fail to Blaſt and Defeat the Deſigns of Such who Arrogantly ſet by his Providence, or Impudently Defy it.

The Great Revolutions of Kingdoms generally Depend upon the Events and Deciſions of *War*, which is nothing elſe but an Immediate Appeal to God for the Right and Juſtice of a *National* Cauſe. But to this may be Reply'd, Why does it not always Succeed Accordingly? Why are Irreligion and Injuſtice, Oppreſſion and Infidelity ſo frequently *Victorious* in the World. Do We not generally ſee that

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Thoſe Princes who have Power and Policy on Their Side, Forecaſt and prudent Management in Their State and Government, Conduct and Bravery in Their Armies and Navies, Command the Field of Battle, Gain the Day, and infallibly Triumph over Their Enemies?

To which Objection it may be anſwer'd, That GOD has many Different and Various Deſigns to Serve Himſelf upon Mankind in theſe Strange and Important Affairs, any One of which being Accompliſh'd, *Abſolve* His Providence. That He oftentimes Permits the *Natural* Courſe of Things to Obtain Their Ends, Suffers Power and Strength to acquire Dominion and Rule, and this frequently to Anſwer ſome Great Purpoſes. Thus He puts the Sword into the hands of *Tyrants* to Chaſtiſe an Inſolent and *Rebellious* Nation, to bring Mankind by Affliction to a Serious Senſe of their Duty, and an humble Reſignation to His Good Providence. Thus were the Kings of *Babylon* to the *Jews*, and *Attila*, Prince of the *Hunns*, call'd *the Scourge of GOD:* and perhaps for the ſame Wiſe Ends

Ends the *Turkiſh* and *French* Power, for many Late Years, have been permit[illegible] Threaten Theſe Parts of the World, an[illegible] been like a Rod, or *Whip of Scorpions* in the Hand of Providence, ſhaken over *Europe* to reduce it into a due Fear of GOD and Religion. But if We Remark the Concluſion of theſe Tyrannical Governments, in All Ages of the World, We ſhall find they Pay Dearly for Their Succeſs in the End. But however, on the Other hand, no one can Deny, but that Power, Strength, and Policy are not always Succeſsful, but frequently Diſappoint Our Expectations, are oftentimes Strangely and Unaccountably Defeated, and Fruſtrated, and that GOD does wonderfully Baffle and Delude the Intentions of Tyrants in the Vindication of His Cauſe and Religion, and as the Pſalmiſt Expreſſes it, *He brings the Counſel of the Heathen to Nought, and maketh the Devices of the People to be of none Effect, and caſteth out the Counſels of Princes.* Nay GOD generally uſes no other Means of Rendring them Ineffectual, than Permitting 'em to proceed in their Courſes, ſo as to Deſtroy and Blow

up Themſelves, whilſt They are Undermining Others. ıre *the Wiſe catcht in their Own Cra, , y walk upon Traps and Gins*, as *Job* Elegantly ſpeaks, and no wonder if *they Fall into the Snare they Prepared for Others*. Theſe are, as 'twere, the Triumphs of the Almighty, by which He Condeſcends to ſay, He *gains Honour to Himſelf* in the Miraculous Demonſtration and Eſtabliſhment of his Power.

Thus much even the Founder and Oracle of all Worldly Policy, *Machiavel*, could Grant in Favour of the Cauſe We are Pleading for, who has laid This down, as the firſt Maxim, and Leading Principle of his Myſterious Science, *That the Shew of Religion was of great Advantage to Policy, but the Real Practice of it Pernicious and Injurious.* A Noble Principle doubtleſs, that ſo Openly Eſtabliſhes Government upon Hypocriſy, Falſhood, and Damnable Diſſimulation! The People have much Reaſon to Truſt in That Prince that will profeſs himſelf a *Traytor* to his GOD and Conſcience! If the Pretence of Religion muſt be Beneficial to the Stateſman,

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and his Government, certainly much more its Real Practice: only that, perhaps, may not Allow Him the Liberty and Safety of Playing the Devil under the Appearance of an Angel. This *Sly Politician* was Aware of the Inſufficiency and utter Inability of all Political Methods and Means, *Abſtractively* Conſider'd, to Obtain Their End, meerly through their Own Force, Power, and Capacity, Diveſted of the Profeſſion, at leaſt, if not the Real Intereſts of True Piety and Religion. And let Thoſe that think They can Proſper without it, conſider the Diſappointed Lives, and Diſaſtrous Deaths of the moſt Profeſs'd Maſters of theſe Crafty and Unhappy Arts, and Then Conclude whether *Solomon* ſpoke not Truth, both as a Wiſe Stateſman, and well-experienc'd Prince, that *tho' there are many Devices in a Man's Heart, nevertheleſs the Counſel of the Lord, That ſhall Stand.* Let the Politician lay his Scheme never ſo Deeply, Contrive it never ſo Curiouſly, and Purſue it with all the Wit and Application of Human Nature, yet ſtill does the Succeſs and Event Remain in the Hand of an Inviſible and Over-

ruling Power, which generally Suffers Matters to run up to a Point of Maturity, to a Deſperate Head, and as 'twere *Inevitable Criſis* before it Diſplays it ſelf, the more to Signalize its Deſpotick Juriſdiction, and Sovereign Authority. In ſhort, if We Truſt to Our Own Poor, Finite Underſtandings, it is next to a Miracle if That does not Deceive Us, which is Compounded of nothing but Errors, and Conjectures at the beſt: and it muſt be Owing to a Lucky Chance, or Gracious Providence, that the Man does not *Overſhoot* himſelf, that knows not how to *take Aim* or cannot See to the Diſtance of His *Mark*. To conclude this Point, States and Governments are as often found Ruin'd and Undone, by their Counſels, and Policies, as they are Aſſiſted, or Supported; and where they Set aſide Providence, or Tend to the Injury of Religion, GOD never fails to Aſſert his Power, and to let the World Know and Feel, that He is the Abſolute Maſter and Diſpoſer of it, and that He can Strike Confuſion upon Theſe *Nimrods* of the Earth, when-ever They Dare preſumptuouſly to Erect a *Babel* in His Defiance.

3. But

3. But Thirdly, Suppoſing Policy to be in it ſelf Deficient for the Support of Government, certainly *Treaſure* and Revenues, Wealth and Greatneſs, Fleets and Armies, are the Noble Pillars, upon which All Empires ſtand Firm, Secure, and Unſhaken. Yet Theſe are ſo directly the Proper Gift of GOD, ſo much the Precarious Iſſue of His Providence and Favour, ſo entirely Dependant upon His Good Will and Diſpoſal, that They never fail of *Flying* to the *Giver*, if Abus'd by the *Receiver*. They are ſuch a Weak, Tranſient, and Slippery Enjoyment, that every Moment's Experience convinces Us of the Folly and Madneſs of Truſting to that, which We cannot, in any Reſpect whatſoever, call *Our Own*. Among all the various Scenes of this Empty, Gaudy, and Paſſing World, there's nothing that Shifts ſo Faſt in it, as the Painted Shew of Riches and Honour. The Revolutions of it are ſo Sudden and Quick, ſo Fleeting and Unſettl'd, that it ſeems a Bleſſing rather of the *Eye* than the *Senſe*, gratifying the *Imagination* more than the *Appetite*, a Fine Glittering Piece of Drapery,

pery, that but Appears and is Gone. So Little Confidence is to be plac'd in it, that it Periſhes in the very Uſe, and is Loſt in the Enjoyment, Dies as ſoon as 'tis Born, and Vaniſhes even whilſt it Appears. 'Tis true there can be no Government without it. Money is doubtleſs the very Life and Soul of Empire, that keeps All its Members in Uſe and Operation, that Infuſes a Vital Force, and Strength through *the Body Politick*, and is, as 'twere, the *Animal Spirits* that Work in, and Invigorate the *Nerves* of a Nation, that keep it from Languiſhing and Decay, and make a State look with a Good Colour and Complexion. But to carry on the *Allegory*, as the Body *Natural* may be Overcharg'd with Blood and Spirits, Glutted with Food, and Burthen'd with Plenty, ſo that what ſhould Tend to Its Nouriſhment may Turn into a Diſeaſe: ſo in the *Body Politick*, Wealth and Treaſure are doubtleſs the Inſtruments of the Welfare and Proſperity of Government, They Suſtain it in Peace and Defend it in War. Whilſt they are made Uſe of as the Means to promote the True Ends and

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Deſigns of Government, to Eſtabliſh Juſtice, to Support the Power of Law and Equity, to Maintain Religion, to Encourage Induſtry and Wit in the Invention and Propagation of Arts, Trades, Sciences, and Traffick, when they are made the Reward of Men of Worth and Probity, of Eloquence and Learning, of Courage and Bravery, and all other Meritorious Accompliſhments, that are Requiſite to Mankind, *Truly Great and Truly Good*, and the only Methods of making Them ſo. I ſay, when Wealth and Power are apply'd to theſe Divine Uſes, they cannot but make a Nation Happy and Glorious, Succeſsful and Victorious in All their Undertakings and Endeavours. And that becauſe, God never fails to ſend his Bleſſings along with theſe Procedures, which are the moſt Manifeſt Declarations of His Juſtice and Providence in the World, and the moſt Effectual ways to Eſtabliſh True Religion and Equity upon Earth. Riches thus apply'd are the Nouriſhment, Life, and Support of Government. And we ſhall without all queſtion find, that where-ever any Nations have become

come Great and Honourable in the World, and have Exalted Themſelves Above their Neighbours in Grandeur and Power, they have Riſen by Theſe Methods of Juſtice and Religion. But when the Deſire of Encreaſing Eſtates, Enlarging the Bounds of Empire, and Extending either Publick or Private Dominion, Beyond the Borders of Juſtice or Honour, by Avarice and Ambition, by Pride or Oppreſſion, by Revenge or Emulation, or any other Sordid or Baſe Means take place in a Kingdom, it may perhaps for the Preſent Seem to make an Addition to its Store, by Laying Lands to Lands, by Raiſing the Publick Stock and Revenue, by Stipendiary Subſidies of Forreign Provinces and Tributary People, it may Fill the Exchequer, encreaſe the Number and Strength of Armies and Navies, and make every Thing look Strangely Great, Formidable, and Flouriſhing about a State. But then generally what are the Conſequences of All theſe Pompous Circumſtances, are they as Durable as They ſeem Glorious? Are they not the Certain Symptoms and Fore-runners of Sickneſs

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and Decay? When the Blood [illegible]gh, it is Natural to Expect a Feaver. This is the *Periodical* State of Government. Where Oppreſſion and Injuſtice Bear Rule, as They will certainly, where Ambition and Avarice make way for Them; (and where Wealth and Gain are the Only Marks and Aims of a Nation, it is Impoſſible it ſhould be Free from Thoſe Vices) where Theſe, I ſay, are Laid as the *Baſis* and Foundation of Government, they ſhall Eat like Moths, and Cankers, into the very Vitals of it, and Fetch down the Strongeſt Empire that ever was Rais'd, into Ruine and Deſolation. It is no News in Hiſtory, to Hear of Nations Sunk, and Broken by their Own Extravagant and Unwieldly Bulk, by their Over-grown and *Exorbitant* Greatneſs. GOD making Theſe Authors of Tyranny and Uſurpation to Puniſh and Correct Themſelves in the Natural Tendency of their Own Sins, and Forcing Them to Signalize That Providence, which They Deny'd, and Defy'd, in their Succeſs, and Proſperity.

What elſe was it that Sunk That Great, Flouriſhing, and Potent *Monarchy* of the

*Aſſyr.* a Poor, Deſpicable, and Diminutive ſtate, but That Luxury, Senſuality, Pride, and Softneſs, which were the *Natural* Productions of Their Vaſt Wealth, Treaſure and Eaſe? When once a Warlike Nation, that has been Rais'd by Hardſhip and Danger, by Fatigue and Toil, by Induſtry and Parſimony, by Diſcipline and Policy, is Unfortunately Caſt into the Hands of a Laviſh, Idle, and Extravagant Succeſſor, who makes His Pleaſure the End of Government, the Grandeur of His Predeceſſors ſhall only lead the Way to His Miſery. And 'tis generally ſeen, that Such an One ſhall Pull down and Deſtroy, in the ſmall Compaſs of *One Reign*, what has been the Work and Labour of Many Former *Ages* to Raiſe. As a Plentiful Eſtate, Left to a Prodigal Heir, Proves only the Inſtrument of a more *Splendid Ruine*. One ſuch Effeminate Wretch as *Sardanapalus* is Enough to Subvert and Unravel, to Looſe, and Debauch away, All the Glorious Conqueſts of a *Ninus* and *Semiramis*. This was the Pitiful and Unfortunate Caſe of the *Roman Empire*, when it was Advanc'd to that Prodigious

digious Pitch of Greatneſs, Wealth, and Dominion, that the Whole World Beſide were but *Stipendiary* Vaſſals to its Will and Command; It Fell into the Hands of a Race of Degenerate, Unwarlike, Vicious Princes, that more Speedily and Effectually Undermin'd That, which all the Malice, Wit, and Power of Their Enemies had never been able to Moleſt, or Diſcompoſe. So Dangerous, Fatal, and Deſtructive are Riches and Power in Themſelves, in the Government of Perſons that have not Reaſon, Prudence, and Religion to Direct them in their Uſe. Nay, the very Encreaſe of their Greatneſs, is oftentimes the Cauſe of their Ruine. Had not *Alexander*'s Conqueſts, been ſo Widely Extended, but that He might have Left them in the Hands of a *Single* General, the *Greek Empire* might Probably have Laſted many Ages longer. But when it was Cut out into ſo many Parcels, and *Cantons*, like a River Transfus'd, and Divided into Different Channels, its Strength was Diſpers'd and Loſt, and Dwindl'd into Nothing. So that out of the Corruption of One Great Empire, Iſſued a Swarm of

Little Republicks, and Petty Principalities.

When Once the Senſe of Publick Juſtice, Honour, and Merit comes to be Abus'd, Neglected, or Degraded, in a Kingdom, and nothing but *Corruption*, *Intereſt*, and *Bribery* Advanced into Their Places, it is High Time for the People to Look about Themſelves, and to Guard againſt the Encroaching Danger. Were there no ſuch Thing as Providence, it is Impoſſible but Such Courſes of *Venality*, and Depravation, ſhould *Naturally* of Themſelves Subvert, and Deſtroy, the Conſtitution of any Well-founded Government. We ſhould ſee Learning, Morality, and Bravery Sink into Nothing, for Want of Reward and Encouragement. What Greater Check, could be Caſt upon Men of an *Aſpiring Genius*, and Elevated Spirit, than to think that GOD had Beſtow'd theſe Noble Endowments upon 'em in vain, and in Spight of thoſe Diſtinguiſhing Qualities, whereby He had Markt Them out for the Service and Glory of Their Country, They muſt lie Abandon'd and Forſaken, and Owe Their Riſe, not to their Merit

and

and Abilities, but to their Favour, Fortune and Money! Thus We ſhould See nothing but an Univerſal *Mart* and Trade of Corruption, Propagated, and Carried on, Both in *Church*, and *State*. We ſhould See the Poſts, and Preferments of the One, Fill'd with Mercenary, Little Knaves, That would Sell the Liberty, Honour, and Safety of Their Country, for the Vile Gain of a *Penſion*; and We ſhould Find the Holy *Offices* of the Other, Proſtituted with an Ignorant, Mean, and Unworthy *Miniſtry*, that would Betray Their Own *Church*, Conſcience, and Religion to Serve the Petty, and Scandalous Deſigns of a *Secular* Intereſt. Theſe are the Noble Effects of Eſtabliſhing Government upon Riches, *Excluſive* of True *Piety*, Juſtice, and Religion. If the Deſires of Thoſe, are not Bounded by ſome Rules, and Laws, We ſhall quickly be Convinc'd, They will leave no Bounds to any Thing elſe.

Whoever Curiouſly Obſerves the *Nature*, and *Operations* of *Government*, will Find that there is a certain *Chronical Period*, or *Criſis* in it, Beyond which it cannot Go, but a New Change, and Revolution muſt Emerge:

and Theſe Turns, will always be Remark'd, *Nicely* to Reſult, Either from *Great Riches*, or *Great Poverty*, as the *Critical* Time or Seaſon, One Extream being Equally Dangerous, and Difficult to be Born, with the Other. As a Faint Languor, and Decay of Spirits, as much Affect the Health, as an Exuberance and Over-flowing of Them. When the *Pulſe* of a Nation *Beats High* and Strong, its Conſtitution will Ferment and grow Feaveriſh; then the Seditious, and Diſcontented Humours Riſe and Float, Envy and Emulation Work up the Heat, and no Wonder if Plots, and Conſpiracies, and at length Open War and Rebellion Break out. Theſe are the *Natural* Effects of Things here *Below*, but if We look *Upwards*, and Conſider the Divine Adminiſtration of Affairs, They will Appear to be the Conduct of a Juſt and Inflictive Providence, That Ariſes in its Own Vindication, to Check the Pride, and Inſolence, the Vain-glory, and Preſumption of Such People, as Truſt to Their Own Strength and Wealth, and, in the Height of Their Greatneſs, Forget that GOD who Gave it. To Conclude this Point, Wealth

and

and Treaſure are the Abſolute, Dependant, and *Precarious* Gifts of Providence, and only by Its Permiſſion a *Subordinate* Means of Government, and where They are made Uſe of, to Serve Unjuſt and Ill Ends, and not Regulated by the Meaſures of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, They *Naturally* Tend to Subvert and Deſtroy it.

From All theſe Arguments Laid together, I hope it evidently Appears, that the Whole Frame of Government, is Built, and Founded on *Religion*, as its Grand *Baſis* and Support, that its Great Weight and Streſs Depends upon it, that its Whole Welfare, Happineſs, and Security is Owing to It, and that the Taking That away will Infallibly Bring Anarchy, Ruine, and Confuſion into a Kingdom.

Now the General Conſent of All Men, in All Ages, as far as it can be Known, Concurring with the Conſtant and never-failing Experience, and Obſervation of Others, as well as Our Selves, Atteſted with the Conſonant Reports of Thoſe that Judge in This Matter, Drawn from the *Natural* Reaſons and Grounds of it, is the Higheſt Degree of a

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*Probable* Truth, Amounting to the Evidence almoſt of the Strickteſt Demonſtration, Eſpecially Conſidering, that Theſe are the Stated Conſtitutions, and Properties of *Government*, and the Regular, and Steady Proceedings of Cauſes, and Effects, in the Ordinary Courſe of Nature.

NOW what I have Prov'd of Religion in *General*, and Its Tendency to Promote the Happineſs, and Welfare of Government, will Appear much more Evident in the *Particular* Application of it, to Our Selves, of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as it Stands upon a *Legal* Foundation, Eſtabliſh'd, and Diſtinguiſh'd, from All That Confus'd Swarm of *Sectariſts*, that Gather about Its Body, not to Partake of Its Communion, but to Diſturb Its Peace, and Preſume to Shelter Themſelves under Its Character, not to Support and Maintain, but more Effectually to Undermine and Deſtroy it. A Diſtinction, that Ought Carefully to be Guarded, and Obſerv'd, by Every *True* Son of *Our Church*, in as much as it Excludes out of It, All thoſe Falſe and Perfidious

fidious Members, who under the Pretence and Hypocritical Diſguiſe of *ity* and *Moderation*, would have Taken down its Fence, and Remov'd Its *Land-Mark*, to make Way, for All Men of a Free, and Unbounded Perſuaſion, to Enter, to Debauch Its Doctrines, Over-run its Diſcipline, and to Subvert the very Being of That Conſtitution, which is at preſent the Onely Support of the *Proteſtant* Religion in the World. In order to which *Pious* Deſign, Its Teſt muſt be Aboliſh'd, All Its Worſt Enemies Tolerated, nay Its very *Articles* Expounded out of Their True Sence, and Wreſted from their Genuine meaning, and Taught the Language of Colluſion and Prevarication, to Comply with Thoſe Very Perſons, They were on Purpoſe Fram'd to Keep out of Its Sacred and Inviolable Communion. But Theſe Shuffling, Treacherous, *Latitudinarians*, ought to be Stigmatiz'd, and Treated Equally as Dangerous Enemies to the *Government*, as well as *Church*: For the *Royal Throne*, and the *Divine Altar*, ſeem ſo Inſeparably Join'd and United in Each Others Intereſts, that the *One* can only be Maintain'd

by the True Principles and Eſtabliſhment of the Other. There is a certain Kind of *Sympathy* in their Conſtitutions, which will Mutually Affect Their State. Hereſy and Schiſm have ſuch a Natural Communication with Rebellion and Uſurpation, that where the *Eccleſiaſtical Body* is Infeſted with the One, the *Body Politick*, is ſeldom found Free from the Other Plague. As long as Mens Opinions Govern Their Actions, Errors in Judgment can Produce Nothing elſe but Errors in Practice. Innovations in the *Church* are but the Forerunners of Thoſe in the *State*; and where the Doctrines, and Diſcipline of the Firſt are Shaken, or Corrupted, the Powers and Priviledges of the Second, very Seldom Remain Entire. What Alters the Fundamental Conſtitution of the One, will Infallibly Deſtroy Both. *Presbytery* and Republicaniſm go hand in hand, They are but the Same Diſorderly, *Levelling Principle*, in the Two Different Branches of Our State, Equally Implacable Enemies to *Monarchy* and *Epiſcopacy*, and if the Government does not Severely find This Truth in Their *Indulgence*,

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'tis not Beholding to Their *Tenets*. It may be Remember'd, that they were the *Same* Hands that were Guilty Both of *Regicide* and *Sacriledge*, that at once Divided the *King's* Head and Crown, and made Our *Churches* Stables, and *Dens of Beaſts, as well as Thieves*. That Actually Sacrificed Both in *One Reign*, to the Fury of *Enthuſiaſm* and *Fanaticiſm*, and would have *Addreſs'd* Both in *Another*, into *Popery* and Ruine. But Then the Nation was Sufficiently Senſible to Whom It Ow'd Its Preſervation, and Be it ſpoke to Its Eternal Honour, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND Alone, as Diſtinguiſh'd from All Its Schiſmatical, and Domeſtick Enemies, was That Great Bulwark, that Buoy'd up Our Lives and Liberties, and that by Its Piety, Steadineſs, and Learning, Supported All Our Sinking Fortunes, and Expiring Religion. For tho' the *Fanaticks* were then ſo much at War among themſelves, notwithſtanding the vaſt Difference and Inconſiſtency of their Several Principles, Intereſts, and Doctrines, tho' *Ephraim was Divided againſt Manaſſeh and Manaſſeh againſt Ephraim*, yet did They

Unanimouſly Conſpire, with All Sorts of Sectariſts, againſt the *Royal Judah*, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as the moſt Irreconcileable Object of Their Mortal Hatred, and Implacable Malice. To Accompliſh This Villainous Conſpiracy, *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, tho' never ſo much at Variance before, could immediately become Friends, Forget each Other's Intereſts, and Old Reſentments, and be Reconcil'd in the Same Common Deſign of Crucifying *Their Lord and Saviour*, betwixt *Thieves* and *Robbers*. To Supplant and Deſtroy This Their Mutual Enemy, They could Run in with a *Diſpenſing Power*, and very gladly Comply with the Aboliſhment of Thoſe Laws, which, for Above an Hundred Years, was the only Rampart, that Secur'd the *Proteſtant Religion* to This Nation. And yet *This* Church was no Sooner Deliver'd from Her Fears, but She muſt Open Her *Injur'd* Arms, to Receive This Sly and Inſidious *Viper* into Her Boſom. Her Sacred Incloſures muſt be laid Open, and the *Hedge* of Her *Vineyard pluck'd up, that This Boar out of the Wood might Waſte it, and*

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*the Beaſts of the Field Devour it.* Her *Partition-Wall*, that Defended Her ſo long, muſt be Broken down, and *the Vail of Her Temple Rent in Twain*, to make way for *That Adverſary* to enter, whom no *Reaſon* ever yet could *Convince*; no *Kindneſs* ever yet could *Win*, no *Condeſcentions* ever yet could *Oblige*, and whom Nothing but the Corruption of Our *Doctrine*, the Deſtruction of Our *Diſcipline*, and the Sequeſtration of Our *Eſtates*, and Revenues can ſatisfy.

This is the Plain Truth of the Matter, how Speciouſly ſoever This Deſign has been Colour'd over. And what-ever were the Pretenſions of *Thoſe Reformers*, who, 'tis juſtly to be Suſpected, Wanted *Themſelves* much more a *Reformation* than Our *Liturgy*, *a Bill of Comprehenſion* would have been found to have Produc'd the ſame Conſequence in *the Church*, as that of a *General Naturalization* in *the State*: It would Introduce an *Heterogeneous* Breed of *Forreigners* into Both, that in Time would Corrupt Our Laws, Break down Our Ancient Conſtitution, and Drive *the Good Old Natives* out of All.

Now

Now when ſuch a Deſtructive Deſign as This is Carrying on, it is High Time for the *Government* to Look about It Self, to ſee where Matters will End, when Its Foundation is thus Viſibly *Struck* at. For as the *Reformation* of *Our Church*, was Laid upon the Subverſion of One of the moſt Fatal and Pernicious Principles to Government, that any Religion can maintain, namely the *Precarious* Conditions of Allegiance to the True and Lawful Sovereign, upon the Falſhood and Ruine whereof Our Conſtitution, both *Civil* as well as *Eccleſiaſtical* was Founded and Eſtabliſh'd, ſo what may tend to Bring in the Same *Damnable* and *Rebellious* Principle, Overturns Our Liberties and Laws, Undermines the very Bottom of Our Government, Pulls down the *Corner-ſtone* upon which 'tis Built, and Reduces Us into the Primitive State of *Popiſh Bondage* and *Uſurpation*. And whether this *Treaſonable Tenet* be not the Profeſs'd Opinion and Deſign of the *Diſſenting Party*, let their Notorious *Practices*, the Trueſt Comment upon, and Interpreter of Their *Principles*, Decide in the Judgment of All Man-

Mankind. For at how Great a Diſtance ſoever, They may Pretend to Set Themſelves from the *Papiſts*, They can never Deny, but that They have, more than Once, *Join'd* Them, Both in their *Arms* and *Counſels*, as well to Extirpate Our *Government*, as to Subvert Our *Church*. And as They were at firſt the *Baſtard Spawn* of That Party, ſo They have ever ſince been the Inſtruments of Their Malice, the Propagators of Their Schiſm, and Falſe Doctrine, and the *Pandars* of That Curſed Train of Miſchief, that was Originally *Hatch'd* in a *Conclave*, and afterwards *Brought forth*, and *Nurs'd up* in a *Conventicle*. From whence All *that Myſtery of Iniquity*, the Seditions, Plots, and Diſturbances that have ſo miſerably Infeſted This Poor Church and Nation, ever ſince the *Reform'd* Religion was Eſtabliſh'd, have Succeſſively Proceeded. They are not therefore to be Look'd upon as a *Religious Sect*, whoſe Deſign only is a *Particular* way of Worſhip, but as a *Political Faction* in Our State, as a *Combination Againſt Our Settlement*, not only Uneaſy under Its Laws, and Unwilling to Pay Obedience to

'em,

'em, but Affronting Its Authority, Denying Its *Legal* Power, endeavouring to Supplant Its Juriſdiction, and to Wreſt the Reins of Dominion out of Our Rulers Hands. For, that a *Religious Liberty* is not the Thing that They *Really* Contend for, it may be Remember'd, as an Undeniable Demonſtration, That when the *Presbytery* had Pull'd down the *Church* and *Government*, Threw Open the Limits of Both, and Got their *Pretended Aim*, They were as Violent againſt All *Toleration* of any Other *Sectariſts*, and as Zealous in the Perſecution of Them, as of the Church it ſelf, or Their Worſt Enemies cou'd have been, notwithſtanding the *Common Merit of their Cauſe*, wherein They had been All Equally Sharers in Villainy and Rebellion, and had Jointly Concurr'd in the Mutual Contributions of Treaſure, Arms, and Blood, in Plundring and Ruining the Nation, Overturning the Church, and Dethroning Their *Rightful Sovereign*. A ſufficient Proof, that *Indulgence* is the *Leaſt* of Their Deſigns, what-ever Specious Colour they may Caſt upon 'em, and that the *Sanctify'd Pretence*

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of *Conſcience*, is only an Artificial and Solemn Diſguiſe, to Impoſe upon the Credulity of the Nation, which ſhall much [illegible]er *Feel*, than *Underſtand* the Meaning of *That Incomprehenſible* Term. Let Men's Principles be never ſo Good, and Honeſt in Themſelves, yet *This* hath been always Found of That Deſtructive, and Malignant Conſequence, that no Government can be Able to ſtand Secure againſt it, which inſtead of Reconciling its Breaches and Diviſions, Expoſes it to all the Injury, Malice, and Perſecution of Several *Contrary Sects*, Purſuing All Different Deſigns, and Particular Intereſts, and Agreeing in Nothing, but the utter Extirpation of the *Eſtabliſh'd Government*, and a Mutual Conteſt, to Set up Themſelves, in an Abſolute Dominion on Its Ruines. So Vaſtly Diſtant, and Inconſiſtent are All Their Principles and Pretences, that ſuch a *Contradictious Variety* can End in Nothing, but Confuſion and Deſtruction; it muſt Unhinge Men's Thoughts, and Unſettle Their Minds, and leave 'em at ſuch a Loſs for the Truth, and Diſtraction what Opinions to Reſt Their Faith upon,

that after They have been Haraſs'd from Quarter to Quarter, and grown Weary and Giddy with Turning About, they will be Contented to Sit down, and Reſign up Themſelves to the Implicit Conduct of an *Infallible Guide*; and ſo inevitably End in *Popery*, *Scepticiſm*, or an Entire *Infidelity*. And, that this is no Chimerical, or Uncharitable Suppoſition, has been already Too Apparent from the Late, Wretched, Times of *Confuſion*, which as it made *Rebels* of One Part of the Nation, made Downright *Atheiſts* of the Other, and Prov'd as much the Subverſion of *Chriſtianity*, as of Our Government, and Conſtitution.

And now One would think, We had Too much Experience, not to be Fully Convinc'd, by Our Sufferings in This Matter, that under Such an Eſtabliſhment, We have little Reaſon to be Hankering after Our Old *Egyptian Bondage* and *Servility*. Men muſt be Strange Infatuated Sots, and Bigots, to be ſo much in Love with Their Ruine, as to Seek and Court it: And 'tis as Unaccountable and Amazing a Contradiction to Our Reaſon, as the

the Greateſt Reproach and Scandal upon Our Church, (however Others may. Seduc'd, or Miſ-led) that Any Pretending to that Sacred and Inviolable Character, of being Her *True Sons, Pillars, and Defenders*, ſhould Turn Such *Apoſtates* and *Renegadoes* to Their *Oaths* and *Profeſſions*; ſuch Falſe *Traytors* to Their *Truſts*, and *Offices*, as to *Strike Sail* with a Party, that is ſuch an Open and Avow'd Enemy to Our *Communion*; and Againſt Whom, every Man, that Wiſhes Its Welfare, ought to Hang out the *Bloody Flag*, and *Banner* of Defiance. But in This, as well as in Moſt Other Circumſtances, Both Our *Church*, and *State*, Share the ſame Common Fate, that they can be Ruin'd by None but *Themſelves*, and that if ever They Receive a *Mortal Stab*, or Wound, it muſt be *in the Houſe of Their Friends*.

And is *This* then the Religion, *This* the People that We muſt *Complement* into Our *Church* and *Government*, to Both which They are Sworn Enemies, and That too at no Leſs an Expence, than the Hazarding Our Eternal Safety and Preſervation, the Giving up Our

Ancient Faith, Conſtitution, and Form of Worſhip, and the Razing thoſe Venerable Boundaries of Law and Diſcipline, that have ſo long Secur'd Us from Their Malice, Purg'd Us from their Enthuſiaſm, and Supported Us againſt All their Conſpiracies and Deſigns? And All This, for the Gratification of no Body knows Whom, Why, or in What, unleſs it be, to be Deſpis'd for Our Weakneſs, Laught at for Our Folly, and Ruin'd for Our Condeſcenſion. If the CHURCH OF ENGLAND can have no Other Way of Shewing *Her Charity*, than by Proſtituting Her Purity, and Debauching *Her* Religion, I hope They will Pardon *Her*, if She follows the *Safeſt*, as well as the *Juſteſt* Policy; to Stick to Her *Innocence*, and give Her Adverſaries no Advantage Againſt Her, and to Imitate Her Bleſſed *Author* and *Founder*, under a Temptation not Unlike it, who with Scorn and Diſdain Turn'd His Back upon the *Devil*, when He Demanded ſuch a Contradictious Demonſtration of His Divinity, as *to Fall down and Worſhip Him.*

In ſhort, if Their Number and Quality are ſo Great, that the *Government* muſt *Endure*

*dure* Them, how Highly does it Concern It to carry a very Watchful Eye, and Strict Guard upon theſe *Domeſtick Enemies*, in whom It can never repoſe the leaſt Confidence, or Dependance, but at Its Injury and Peril! For No *Principles*, but thoſe of the *True Church of England*, can ever make the *Engliſh Crown* to Set Eaſy, Safe, or Secure on the Head of Majeſty; and it will be found an Infallible Truth, that *Phanaticiſm* is as utterly Irreconcileable and Inconſiſtent, as *Popery* it ſelf, with Our Eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution and Monarchy.

If therefore We have any Concern for Our *Religion*, any True Allegiance for Our *Sovereign*, or Regard to the Safety and Honour of Our *Country*, We muſt Watch againſt Theſe Crafty, Faithleſs, and Inſidious Perſons, who can *Creep* to Our Altars, and Partake of Our Sacraments, that They may be *Qualify'd*, more Secretly and Powerfully to Undermine Us. Such a *Religious* Piece of *Political Hypocriſy*, as even no *Heathen* Government would have endur'd; and for the Relief of which Deſtructive Injury, tho' She has ſo long *Labour'd*

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in vain, yet, Bleſſed be God, there is now a Perſon on the Throne, who ſo juſtly Weighs the Intereſt of Church and State, as to Remove ſo Falſe an *Engine*, that Viſibly Overturns Both.

In a word, Let Us be *True* to Our Selves, and Our Profeſſion, Eſpecially as it Concerns Us more Particularly of *This Place*, who are Entruſted with the Education of the *Future Patriots* of it, and let Us Scorn to Trim, Waver, and Double with the Opinions and Intereſts of *Theſe Halters betwixt God and Baal*, but let Us Steadily Adhere to the Good, *Old* Stanch Principles of Our Church, and Fear not, *Tho' She is Troubl'd on every Side, She ſhall never be Diſtreſs'd; tho' She is Perplex'd, yet She ſhall not be in Deſpair; tho' She be Perſecuted, She ſhall not be Forſaken; tho' Caſt down, She ſhall not be Deſtroy'd; neither ſhall the Gates of Hell be ever Able to Prevail Againſt Her.*

*FINIS.*